

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 229271 TOSEC 270207

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FOR EAGLEBURGER FROM S/PRS - BROWN

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN, OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: TRAVELING PRESS REPORTAGE, EVENING,
WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1976

NO. 11

NEWSPAPERS:

1. LOS ANGELES TIMES, TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1976,
"KISSINGER-SMITH TALKS UNLIKELY" (JOHNSTON FROM ZURICH):
SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY A. KISSINGER HAS NO INTENTION OF
MEETING WITH RHODESIAN PRIME MINISTER IAN SMITH IN AFRICA
THIS WEEK UNLESS SMITH IS PREPARED TO ACCEPT THE PRINCIPLE
OF BLACK MAJORITY RULE IN HIS COUNTRY.

REPORTERS TRAVELING WITH KISSINGER WERE TOLD MONDAY THAT
DIRECT CONTACT WITH SMITH WAS OUT OF THE QUESTION UNLESS
IT WOULD EASE THE WAY FOR EVENTUAL RHODESIAN ACCEPTANCE
OF "99 " OF THE INGREDIENTS OF A TRANSFER OF POWER.

KISSINGER'S FIRST SCHEDULED STOPS IN AFRICA - AFTER AN
UNCLASSIFIED
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 STATE 229271 TOSEC 270207

OVERNIGHT REFUELING STOP HERE IN SWITZERLAND - ARE MEETINGS
WITH THE PRESIDENTS OF THE TWO "FRONT-LINE" BLACK AFRICAN
STATES WHOSE SUPPORT KISSINGER BELIEVES IS ESSENTIAL TO

ANY SETTLEMENT OF THE RHODESIAN CRISIS - TANZANIA'S JULIUS NYERERE AND ZAMBIA'S KENNETH KAUNDA.

BUT THE EMPHASIS PLACED MONDAY ON KISSINGER'S CONDITIONS FOR A MEETING WITH SMITH - WHO IN THE LONG RUN IS THE KEY TO THE PUZZLE - SERVES INSTEAD TO FOCUS ATTENTION ON THE TALKS SMITH IS SCHEDULED TO BEGIN TODAY IN PRETORIA WITH SOUTH AFRICAN PRIME MINISTER JOHN VORSTER.

KISSINGER REMAINS CAUTIOUS IN BOTH HIS PUBLIC AND PRIVATE ESTIMATES OF WHAT HE CAN ACHIEVE IN AFRICA ON THIS TRIP. BUT REPORTERS ABOARD HIS PLANE MONDAY WERE GIVEN A CLEAR IMPRESSION THAT HE BELIEVES HE HAS WON VORSTER'S COOPERATION IN PRESSING ON SMITH THE NEED TO ACCEPT AT LEAST THE PRINCIPLE OF BLACK RULE IN RHODESIA.

ACCORDINGLY, WHAT KISSINGER HAS IN MIND FOR HIS COMING TALKS IS UNUSUALLY CLEAR FOR SUCH AN EARLY STAGE IN NEGOTIATION. AND HE APPEARED UNUSUALLY WILLING TO SHARE HIS IDEAS WITH REPORTS ON THE TRIP.

BEGINNING IN DAR ES SALAAM WEDNESDAY, WHERE DAYLONG TALKS WITH NYERERE ARE SCHEDULED, KISSINGER INTENDS TO BRING THE TANZANIAN PRESIDENT UP TO DATE ON THE U.S. DIPLOMATIC EFFORT IN AFRICA SO FAR: TWO MEETINGS WITH VORSTER, ONE IN JUNE AND ANOTHER EARLIER THIS MONTH; AND ALMOST UNBROKEN CONSULTATION SINCE LAST SPRING WITH THE BRITISH. KISSINGER WISHES TO SHARE THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR NEGOTIATING A PEACEFUL TRANSITION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA WITH BRITAIN.

HE RECOGNIZES THAT RHODESIA REMAINS THE KEY ISSUE, BUT HE BELIEVES NYERERE MIGHT PREFER RIGHT NOW TO SEE CONCRETE PROGRESS ON THE PARALLEL, BUT LESS INTRACTABLE, ISSUE OF HOW TO DISLODGE SOUTH-WEST AFRICA (NAMIBIA) FROM SOUTH AFRICAN CONTROL.

THE NEXT STOP IS LUSAKA, ZAMBIA, WHERE RHODESIA IS SEEN
UNCLASSIFIED
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PAGE 03 STATE 229271 TOSEC 270207

AS THE MAIN ISSUE PREOCCUPYING KAUNDA.

SHOULD EITHER PRESIDENT RECOMMEND THAT KISSINGER MEET WITH CERTAIN LEADERS OF THE BADLY SPLIT RHODESIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT, THE SECRETARY WOULD BE PREPARED TO DO SO.

THE ONLY NONGOVERNMENTAL BLACK LEADER KISSINGER IS VIRTUALLY CERTAIN TO MEET ON THIS FIRST PHASE OF THE TRIP IS SAM NUJOMA, LEADER OF THE SOUTH-WEST AFRICAN PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION, THE DOMINANT BLACK NATIONALIST GROUP IN NAMIBIA.

KISSINGER PLANS TO ARRIVE IN PRETORIA LATE IN THE WEEK, AT WHICH TIME HE EXPECTS TO LEARN FROM VORSTER WHETHER THE VORSTER-SMITH NEGOTIATIONS HAVE PROGRESSED FAR ENOUGH FOR HIM TO SEE SMITH.

KISSINGER PLANS A RETURN SWING THROUGH ZAMBIA AND TANZANIA, AND HE DOES NOT EVEN RULE OUT A THIRD MEETING LATER NEXT WEEK WITH NYERERE AND KAUNDA IF THERE IS ENOUGH PROGRESS TO REPORT. TO ALLOW KAUNDA AND NYERERE TO CONFER, KISSINGER IS TENTATIVELY PLANNING A QUICK TRIP SEPT. 21 TO ZAIRE IN CENTRAL AFRICA TO CONFER WITH PRESIDENT MOBUTU SESE SEKO. HE IS STILL COUNTING ON RETURNING TO WASHINGTON BY FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 24.

2. L.A. TIMES 9/15/76:(TORGERSON FROM DAR ES SALAAM):
"KISSINGER ARRIVES IN AFRICA; 'MISSION IMPOSSIBLE' SEEN":
KISSINGER'S ATTEMPT TO BRING PEACE TO RACIALLY EMBATTLED SOUTHERN AFRICA MUST OVERCOME SEEMINGLY INSURMOUNTABLE OBSTACLES:

--THE AFRICANS DISTRUST KISSINGER'S MOTIVES. THEY VIEW HIS STATEMENT THAT HE WANTS TO "ARREST THE RADICALIZATION" OF SOUTHERN AFRICA AS MEANING THAT HE IS COMING JUST TO "CONTAIN THE SOVIET INFLUENCE" OR "TO ROB THE PENDING VICTORY FROM THOSE WHO HAVE FOUGHT FOR IT."

LEADERS VIEW WITH SUSPICION ANYONE WHO NEGOTIATES WITH BLACK AFRICA'S MOST HATED WHITES: "RACIST" JOHN VORSTER OF SOUTH AFRICA AND "REBEL" IAN SMITH OF RHODESIA. HOW,
UNCLASSIFIED
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 STATE 229271 TOSEC 270207

THEY ASK, CAN BLACK AFRICA AGREE TO ANYTHING VORSTER AND SMITH WANT?

--ALTHOUGH TANZANIA'S PRESIDENT JULIUS NYERERE IS SPOKESMAN FOR THE FIVE SO-CALLED "FRONT-LINE" AFRICAN LEADERS - THOSE WHOSE COUNTRIES BORDER THE WHITE-RULED LANDS - THERE ARE NO CLEAR-CUT LEADERS TO NEGOTIATE FOR THE BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENTS. THOSE FIGHTING IN RHODESIA ARE MORE SPLINTERED NOW THAN EVER BEFORE.

KISSINGER WAS GIVEN A MIXED WELCOME. AN OFFICIAL TANZANIA GOVERNMENT STATEMENT FOUND BOTH POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE ASPECTS TO HIS VISIT. BUT AN EDITORIAL ON PAGE 1 OF THE STATE-RUN TANZANIA DAILY NEWS POINTED OUT THAT THE LEADERS OF THE FRONT-LINE COUNTRIES DECIDED HERE LAST WEEK ON "AN INTENSIFICATION OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE" AND ADDED:

"THERE IS THUS NOTHING TO NEGOTIATE.

"HE CAN GO ON TO PRETORIA (SOUTH AFRICA) AND SALISBURY (RHODESIA) AND TELL THE OLD RASCALS THERE THAT THEIR DAYS ARE NUMBERED."

"EVERY STOP THAT BROUGHT US HERE HAS BEEN CAREFULLY DISCUSSED WITH LEADERS IN AFRICA AND ESPECIALLY THE FRONT-LINE PRESIDENTS," KISSINGER TOLD NEWSMEN IN A BRIEF STATEMENT APPARENTLY DESIGNED TO REASSURE BLACK AFRICA ABOUT HIS MOTIVES.

FOREIGN DIPLOMATS, NOT AMERICAN, WERE PUZZLED WHY KISSINGER WOULD RISK HIS REPUTATION AMID THE UNCERTAINTIES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA'S INTERNECINE POLITICS. "UNLESS," SUGGESTED ONE EUROPEAN OBSERVER, "HE KNOWS SOMETHING HE OBTAINED FROM VORSTER WHICH CHANGES THE DYNAMICS OF THE WHOLE SCENE."

REPORTS HERE OF A KISSINGER PLAN FOR BUYING OUT WHITE FARMERS IN RHODESIA WHILE ENCOURAGING WHITE TEACHERS, CIVIL SERVANTS AND TECHNICIANS TO REMAIN WERE CRITICIZED BY SUPPORTERS OF WHAT IS CALLED THE "LIBERATION STRUGGLE." SAID THE OFFICIAL NEWSPAPER HERE:
UNCLASSIFIED
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 05 STATE 229271 TOSEC 270207

"IT WILL HAND OVER GOVERNMENT TO PUPPET CHIEFS AND MODERATE AFRICAN NATIONALISTS, WHO WILL GUARANTEE BOTH SETTLER EXPLOITATION AND AMERICAN ECONOMIC INTERESTS."

NATIONALIST SPOKESMEN HERE SEE THE SOLUTION AS SIMPLE - PERHAPS TOO SIMPLE. THEY CALL FOR:

--RECOGNITION OF INDEPENDENCE FOR SOUTH-WEST AFRICA (NAMIBIA).

BUT THE SOUTH-WEST AFRICAN PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION (SWAPO), THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT RECOGNIZED AS THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY AS REPRESENTATIVE OF THE TERRITORY'S AFRICAN MAJORITY, REFUSES TO NEGOTIATE WITH VORSTER, OR VORSTER WITH IT.

--IMMEDIATE TRANSFER OF POWER TO THE AFRICAN MAJORITY OF RHODESIA (ZIMBABWE IN THE AFRICAN USAGE).

BUT THE FRAGILE COALITION OF THREE DIFFERENT AND OFTEN FEUDING ZIMBABWE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, BROUGHT UNDER THE UMBRELLA OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL COUNCIL IN 1974, FINALLY CAME APART DURING LAST WEEK'S MEETING OF AFRICAN LEADERS HERE. THERE NOW IS NO POLITICAL FORCE TO WHICH POWER COULD BE TRANSFERRED.

--A COMPLETE BOYCOTT OF SOUTH AFRICA.

BUT SEVERAL FRONT-LINE STATES, PLUS THE MAJOR WESTERN POWERS, HAVE ECONOMIC LINKS WITH SOUTH AFRICA TOO IMPORTANT TO BE SIMPLY SEVERED. WESTERN OBSERVERS BELIEVE THE ECONOMY OF MOZAMBIQUE - MARXIST AND VIOLENTLY ANTI-RHODESIAN - COULD NOT SURVIVE WITHOUT ITS LINKS WITH NEIGHBORING SOUTH AFRICA.

DESPITE THE COMPLEXITIES OF LIBERATION RHETORIC, AMERICAN DIPLOMATS HERE TOOK A VIEW THAT THE WELCOME EXTENDED TO KISSINGER WAS BY AND LARGE HOSPITABLE.

THE TANZANIAN POSITION PAPER - WHICH AN INFORMATION UNCLASSIFIED UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 06 STATE 229271 TOSEC 270207

MINISTRY OFFICIAL SAID ALSO REPRESENTED THE ATTITUDES OF THE OTHER FRONT-LINE COUNTRIES OF MOZAMBIQUE, ANGOLA, BOTSWANA AND ZAMBIA - DID FIND POSITIVE ASPECTS TO KISSINGER'S INTEREST IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, INCLUDING "AMERICA'S PUBLICLY DECLARED SUPPORT FOR MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA."

"THERE WAS NOTHING LIKE THIS THE LAST TIME THE SECRETARY CAME, IN APRIL," SAID A U.S. DIPLOMAT. "PUTTING OUT A PAPER WHICH FINDS SOMETHING GOOD IN HIS VISIT HAS GOT TO BE A SORT OF WELCOME."

WIRES:

3. UPI (JIM ANDERSON FROM DAR ES SALAAM): SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY KISSINGER OPENED CRUCIAL TALKS TODAY WITH PRESIDENT JULIUS NYERERE OF TANZANIA BUT RAN INTO A WALL OF AFRICAN SKEPTICISM AND A SOVIET DIPLOMATIC CAMPAIGN AIMED AT TORPEDOING HIS PEACE MISSION.

RADICAL AFRICAN OPPOSITION TO THE KISSINGER MISSION AIMED AT PREVENTING AN ALL-OUT RACE WAR IN SOUTHERN AFRICA WAS DRAMATICALLY UNDERLINED BY SEVERAL HUNDRED YOUNG DEMONSTRATORS WHO GREETED HIM WITH CRIES OF "KISSINGER GO HOME" AS HE STEPPED OFF HIS PLANE TUESDAY NIGHT TO BEGIN THE 10-DAY SHUTTLE BETWEEN BLACK AND WHITE AFRICA.

SENIOR DIPLOMATS SAID KISSINGER'S TWO BIGGEST PROBLEMS WERE:

--INCREASING SKEPTICISM ON THE PART OF AFRICANS, REPRESENTED BY NYERERE, WHO DOUBT THAT THE U.S. MOTIVES COINCIDE WITH THEIR OWN. A TANZANIAN GOVERNMENT STATEMENT TUESDAY WENT SO FAR AS TO ASK THE UNITED STATES TO PROVIDE ARMS FOR GUERRILLA MOVEMENTS IF KISSINGER FAILS TO ACHIEVE PEACE.

--ACTIVE SOVIET OPPOSITION TO THE KISSINGER MISSION. A
SENIOR OFFICIAL ABOARD THE KISSINGER PLANE SAID THE
SOVIET ABILITY TO "SCREW THINGS UP" WAS LIMITED AND HAD
BEEN EXPECTED AS A RESULT OF THE COOLING OFF OF DETENTE
IN RECENT MONTHS. THE OFFICIAL SAID THE SOVIETS WERE
UNCLASSIFIED
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 07 STATE 229271 TOSEC 270207

EXPRESSING THIS OPPOSITION AT THE UNITED NATIONS AND
THROUGH THE LIBERATION FRONTS WHOM THEY SUPPLY WEAPONS.

4. REUTERS: (LARS NELSON FROM DAR ES SALAAM): SECRETARY
OF STATE HENRY KISSINGER AND TANZANIAN PRESIDENT JULIUS
NYERERE ENDED THE FIRST ROUND OF DR. KISSINGER'S AFRICAN
PEACE SHUTTLE TODAY WITH EXPRESSIONS OF PESSIMISM ABOUT
PROSPECTS FOR ITS SUCCESS.

PRESIDENT NYERERE SAID DR. KISSINGER, REPORTING ON HIS
MEETING 10 DAYS AGO WITH SOUTH AFRICAN PRIME MINISTER
JOHN VORSTER, HAD TOLD HIM NOTHING ENCOURAGING ABOUT THE
CHANCES OF A SETTLEMENT IN EITHER RHODESIA OR NAMIBIA
(SOUTH WEST AFRICA).

DR. KISSINGER WAS SLIGHTLY LESS PESSIMISTIC BUT TOLD A
PRESS CONFERENCE THE CHANCES FOR THE SUCCESS OF HIS
MISSION WERE ABOUT 50-50.

HE ADDED, "THERE ARE SEVERAL COINCIDING VIEWS. THERE ARE
SEVERAL SHARPLY DIFFERING VIEWS.

"THE QUESTION THAT WE FACE IN THE NEXT WEEK IS WHETHER
THE DIFFERING VIEWS CAN BE BRIDGED...IF THERE WERE NOT
SOME POSSIBILITY OF BRIDGING THESE VIEWS, WE WOULD NOT
HAVE UNDERTAKEN THE JOURNEY."

THE TWO MEN HAVE AGREED TO MEET AGAIN NEXT TUESDAY AFTER
DR. KISSINGER HAS VISITED ZAMBIA AND SOUTH AFRICA.

5. REUTERS: (NO BYLINE, FROM DAR ES SALAAM): U.S.
SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY KISSINGER AND TANZANIAN PRESIDENT
JULIUS NYERERE CONCLUDED A FIRST ROUND OF DETAILED TALKS
ON RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA (SOUTH WEST AFRICA) TODAY WITH
MR. NYERERE SAYING HE HAD HEARD NOTHING ENCOURAGING.

MR. NYERERE TOLD A NEWS CONFERENCE THIS EVENING THAT
FOLLOWING HIS FOUR AND A HALF HOURS OF TALKS WITH DR.
KISSINGER HE WAS EVEN LESS HOPEFUL THAN HE HAD BEEN
BEFORE ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF PEACEFULLY SPEEDING THE
INDEPENDENCE OF SOUTH-WEST AFRICA.

UNCLASSIFIED
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PAGE 08 STATE 229271 TOSEC 270207

BUT, PRESSED BY QUESTIONERS, MR. NYERERE MADE IT CLEAR THAT TO BE ENCOURAGED HE WOULD HAVE HAD TO BE TOLD THAT RHODESIAN PRIME MINISTER IAN SMITH WAS READY TO SURRENDER POWER AND THAT SOUTH AFRICA WAS WILLING TO WITHDRAW FROM NAMIBIA AT ONCE.

BOTH DEVELOPMENTS, MR. NYERERE CONCEDED, WOULD BE "MIRACLES."

ASKED WHETHER HE HAD HEARD OF ANY POSSIBLE CONCESSIONS ON THE PART OF SOUTH AFRICA, MR. NYERERE SAID, "FRANKLY, I DON'T FEEL PARTICULARLY ENCOURAGED, BUT WE MUST WAIT UNTIL AFTER DR. KISSINGER HAS SEEN MR. VORSTER (IN PRETORIA THIS WEEKEND).

"AS A RESULT OF THE DISCUSSIONS WITH DR. KISSINGER, I CAN'T SAY I FEEL MORE HOPEFUL THAN BEFORE. I HAVE NOT RECEIVED ANY INFORMATION THAT MAKES ME MORE HOPEFUL."

"AT ONE TIME I WAS MORE HOPEFUL ON NAMIBIA. I AM NOT NOW " HE ADDED.

THOUGH MR. VORSTER ACKNOWLEDGED IN ZURICH LAST WEEK THAT HE ACCEPTED THE SOUTH WEST AFRICA PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION (SWAPO) AS ONE OF THE POLITICAL FACTIONS IN NAMIBIA, MR. NYERERE MADE IT CLEAR THAT TANZANIA IS INSISTING THAT SOUTH AFRICA RECOGNIZE THE ORGANIZATION AS THE ONLY REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PEOPLE IN THE TERRITORY, AS THE UNITED NATIONS HAS DONE.

"I HAVEN'T HEARD THAT SOUTH AFRICA APPEARS TO ACCEPT THE IMPORTANCE OF SWAPO," MR. NYERERE SAID. "ON THE BASIS OF WHAT I KNOW NOW, I CAN SAY I AM LESS HOPEFUL THAN I WAS."

MR. NYERERE SAID HE HAD BEEN TRYING TO PERSUADE DR. KISSINGER THAT AFRICAN GUERRILLAS, EVEN THOUGH THEY MAY RECEIVE COMMUNIST ARMS AND SUPPORT, ARE NOT COMMUNISTS SIMPLY BECAUSE THEY ARE FIGHTING FOR FREEDOM.

UNCLASSIFIED
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 09 STATE 229271 TOSEC 270207

AND THAT HE APPEARED TO BE RELATIVELY PESSIMISTIC, HE SAID DR. KISSINGER'S SHUTTLE MISSION TO SOUTHERN AFRICA WOULD NOT BE USELESS -- EVEN IF ITS ONLY RESULT WAS TO DEMONSTRATE TO THE UNITED STATES HOW STUBBORN THE WHITE GOVERNMENTS IN RHODESIA AND SOUTH AFRICA ARE.

"I HOPE THIS SHUTTLE, IF IT DOES NOT END IN A NEGOTIATED

SETTLEMENT AND THEREFORE THE WAR HAS TO GO ON, AT LEAST WILL MAKE THE UNITED STATES UNDERSTAND THAT THE FIGHTING IN SOUTHERN AFRICA HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH COMMUNISM," MR. NYERERE SAID.

ASKED ABOUT TANZANIA'S PUBLIC CRITICISM OF DR. KISSINGER'S ROLE, INCLUDING SUGGESTIONS THAT AFRICAN LEADERS OPPOSE HIS MEETING WITH WHITE AFRICAN LEADERS, MR. NYERERE SAID WITH A SMILE, "WE HAVE NOT DISCOURAGED DR. KISSINGER FROM MEETING VORSTER -- LET ME PUT IT THAT WAY."

ASKED WHAT IT WOULD HAVE TAKEN TO ENCOURAGE HIM TODAY, MR. NYERERE REPLIED, "I WOULD HAVE BEEN ENCOURAGED IF I HAD BEEN TOLD THAT SMITH IS WILLING TO ACCEPT MAJORITY RULE AT THE VERY LEAST UNDER THE PLAN ANNOUNCED BY (BRITISH PRIME MINISTER JAMES) CALLAGHAN.

"I HAVEN'T HEARD ANYTHING OF THE KIND."

THE CALLAGHAN PLAN CALLS FOR BLACK MAJORITY RULE WITHIN TWO YEARS.

MR. NYERERE SAID GUERRILLA WARFARE IN RHODESIA COULD STOP AS SOON AS A PROVISIONAL BLACK-MAJORITY GOVERNMENT WAS FORMED.

HE ALSO REITERATED HIS BELIEF THAT THE VAST MAJORITY OF RHODESIA'S 250,000 WHITES WOULD LEAVE THE COUNTRY ONCE BLACKS GAINED POWER.

A PROPOSED U.S.-BRITISH COMPENSATION FUND OF UP TO 1.8 BILLION DOLLARS SHOULD BE USED TO ENCOURAGE WHITES TO GET OUT, HE SAID.

UNCLASSIFIED
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 10 STATE 229271 TOSEC 270207

BEFORE HIS FINAL MEETING WITH PRESIDENT NYERERE, DR. KISSINGER HAD TALKS WITH RICHARD SAMUEL, A SENIOR BRITISH DIPLOMAT SENT TO AFRICA TO LIAISE WITH THE KISSINGER MISSION.

DURING TODAY'S DISCUSSIONS, PRESIDENT NYERERE BRIEFED DR. KISSINGER ABOUT THE CONCLUSIONS OF A FIVE-NATION AFRICAN SUMMIT HERE LAST WEEK WHICH RESOLVED TO STEP UP THE BLACK GUERRILLA WAR IN RHODESIA.

PRESIDENT NYERERE IS CHAIRMAN OF THE SO-CALLED "FRONT LINE" PRESIDENTS -- OF TANZANIA, MOZAMBIQUE, ZAMBIA, BOTSWANA, AND ANGOLA -- WHO ARE CLOSELY INVOLVED IN THE SOUTHERN AFRICA CRISIS AND WHO ATTENDED THE SUMMIT HERE.

6. AP: (NO BYLINE, FROM DAR ES SALAAM): PRESIDENT JULIUS NYERERE SAID TODAY HE WAS "LESS HOPEFUL THAN I WAS BEFORE" ABOUT CHANCES OF AVERTING A RACIAL BLOODBATH IN SOUTHERN AFRICA " ON THE BASIS OF WHAT I HAVE HEARD FROM DR. KISSINGER."

NYERERE SAID IT WOULD BE A MIRACLE IF RHODESIA, WHERE 270,000 WHITES RULE SOME 6 MILLION BLACKS, WERE TO ACCEPT MAJORITY RULE IN TWO YEARS AS SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY A. KISSINGER AND OTHERS HAVE PROPOSED. BOTH MEN SPOKE TO REPORTERS AFTER A WEDNESDAY MEETING.

NYERERE MADE CLEAR HE WANTED A U.S. COMMITMENT TO RECOGNIZE THAT BLACK "MEN WITH GUNS" WOULD HAVE NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO SHOOT IT OUT WITH THEIR WHITE RHODESIAN RULERS IF KISSINGER'S MISSION FAILS.

KISSINGER SAID HE WAS NOT ASSUMING THE FAILURE OF HIS MISSION, AND IN ANY CASE WAS NOT ABOUT TO ISSUE ANY "BLANK CHECK IN ADVANCE" BECAUSE "WE HAVE NOT GIVEN UP HOPE OF A PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEMS OF RHODESIA, SOUTH AFRICA AND NAMIBIA."

SOUTH AFRICA MAINTAINS CONTROL OVER NAMIBIA, OR SOUTH-WEST AFRICA, OVER OPPOSITION OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 11 STATE 229271 TOSEC 270207

KISSINGER SUGGESTED NYERERE MAY HAVE EMPHASIZED HIS DISCOURAGEMENT TO IMPRESS AMERICANS AND ALSO SOUTH AFRICAN PRIME MINISTER JOHN VORSTER, WITH WHOM KISSINGER MEETS THIS WEEKEND.

"THERE HAS BEEN NO CHANGE IN MY VIEWS," HE SAID. "IN THE BEGINNING OF A PROCESS OF EXPLORATION, NO POSITION IS UNSTATED."

IN THE EASTERN RHODESIAN TOWN OF UMTALI, 600 DELEGATES TO THE RULING RHODESIAN FRONT PARTY'S CONVENTION BEGAN A THREE-DAY MEETING A FEW MILES FROM THE BORDER OF MOZAMBIQUE WHERE BLACK GUERRILLAS HAVE SET UP BASES FOR RAIDS INTO RHODESIA.

THE WHITE RHODESIAN RULERS WILL DRAFT A NEW POLITICAL STRATEGY AND DECIDE HOW TO REACT TO KISSINGER'S LATEST INITIATIVE FOR PEACE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

THE TANZANIAN PRESIDENT MADE IT CLEAR HE HAD TOLD KISSINGER HE WOULD OPPOSE ANY MEETING BETWEEN THE SECRETARY AND RHODESIAN PRIME MINISTER IAN SMITH. "AFRICA WON'T BE HAPPY AT THAT," HE SAID.

KISSINGER HAS PLEDGED NOT TO MEET WITH ANYONE OR TAKE ANY ACTIONS WITHOUT FIRST BEING ASKED TO DO SO BY BLACK AFRICAN LEADERS.

NYERERE NOTED THAT BRITAIN AND BOTH BLACK AND WHITE AFRICANS HAD TRIED AND FAILED TO RESOLVE THE RHODESIAN PROBLEM. HE SAID HE EXPECTED KISSINGER'S MISSION TO FAIL TOO, BUT ADDED THAT IT "CAN CLARIFY THE ISSUES FOR THE AMERICANS."

IT WILL BE UP TO WASHINGTON TO JUDGE WHETHER BLACKS HAVE ANY OPTION OTHER THAN TO FIGHT FOR THEIR INDEPENDENCE, NYERERE SAID.

HE SAID BLACK GUERRILLAS ASK NO U.S. MILITARY AID OR FAVORS BECAUSE THEY CAN GET THEM ELSEWHERE. THEY SEEK ONLY UNDERSTANDING FOR THE JUSTICE OF AN ARMED STRUGGLE
UNCLASSIFIED
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 12 STATE 229271 TOSEC 270207

IN CASE CHANCES OF A PEACEFUL SOLUTION COLLAPSE, HE SAID.

RADIO AND T.V.

6. NBC-TV NIGHTLY NEWS:

CHANCELLOR: SECRETARY OF STATE KISSINGER, BEGINNING SOME SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY DESIGNED TO BRING PEACE TO SOUTHERN AFRICA, WAS IN TANZANIA TODAY. HE SPENT FOUR AND A HALF HOURS WITH PRESIDENT JULIUS NYERERE. WHEN THE TALKS WERE OVER, NYERERE SAID KISSINGER LEFT HIM LESS HOPEFUL AND LESS ENCOURAGED THAN BEFORE KISSINGER MET HIM. RICHARD VALERIANI REPORTS FROM DAR ES SALAAM.

VALERIANI: KISSINGER'S MISSION, WHICH BEGAN HERE IN TANZANIA LAST NIGHT, HAS GENERATED A LOT OF SKEPTICISM AMONG AFRICANS. JUST BEFORE HE ARRIVED, AN OFFICIAL GOVERNMENT STATEMENT CHALLENGED THE UNITED STATES TO DECLARE NOW THAT IT WILL IDENTIFY ITSELF WITH BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENTS IN THE FUTURE IF NEGOTIATIONS DON'T WORK. AND THE GOVERNMENT ALSO PERMITTED A SMALL GROUP OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS TO DEMONSTRATE AT THE AIRPORT AGAINST HIS VISIT.

IN HIS ARRIVAL STATEMENT, KISSINGER TRIED TO DEFLECT THAT SKEPTICISM, AS WELL AS TO ANSWER CRITICS BACK HOM: WHO SUGGEST HIS MISSION IS POLITICALLY MOTIVATED, OR THAT HE'S ON A PERSONAL EGO TRIP.

KISSINGER: WE WILL DO WHAT WE ARE ASKED TO DO, WE WILL DO NOTHING THAT IS NOT REQUESTED, WE WILL TAKE

NO INITIATIVES THAT ARE NOT INVITED, AND WE ARE
PREPARED TO MAKE THE EFFORT THAT IS ENCOURAGED.

VALERIANI: TODAY AT THE STATE HOUSE IN DAR ES SALAAM,
KISSINGER HAD HIS FIRST SESSION WITH PRESIDENT JULIUS
NYERERE. KISSINGER REPORTED ON HIS RECENT MEETING WITH
THE SOUTH AFRICANS; NYERERE REPORTED ON THE CONFERENCE
OF BLACK LEADERS HELD HERE LAST WEEK. AND THEY TALKED
ABOUT WHAT SHOULD BE DONE NEXT. AMERICAN OFFICIALS SAY
THE TANZANIANS ARE MORE POSITIVE IN PRIVATE THAN THEIR
UNCLASSIFIED
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PAGE 13 STATE 229271 TOSEC 270207

PUBLIC STATEMENTS INDICATE. KISSINGER HAS SET RATHER
MODEST GOALS FOR HIMSELF ON THIS MISSION. HE HOPES TO
GET A TOTAL COMMITMENT FROM SOUTH AFRICA TO WORK FOR
BLACK MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA, AND HE HOPES TO ARRANGE
NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF NAMIBIA, A SOUTH
AFRICAN COLONY, BEFORE HEADING BACK TO WASHINGTON LATE
NEXT WEEK.

7. CBS EVENING NEWS:

CRONKITE: SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY KISSINGER MET TODAY
FOR ALMOST FIVE HOURS WITH TANZANIAN PRESIDENT JULIUS
NYERERE IN DAR ES SALAAM, THE INITIAL STOP OF HIS NEW
AFRICAN PEACE MISSION. THE SECRETARY IS TRYING TO PAVE
THE WAY FOR BLACK MAJORITY RULE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.
BERNARD KALB REPORTS.

KALB: THE FIRST INSTALLMENT OF KISSINGER'S SHUTTLE
DIPLOMACY TOOK PLACE ON THE PRESIDENTIAL TERRACE IN DAR
ES SALAAM. BOTH OF THESE EX-COLLEGE TEACHERS RECOGNIZING
THAT THE OUTCOME OF THE SHUTTLE CAN MEAN THE DIFFERENCE
BETWEEN WAR AND PEACE IN THIS RACIALLY EXPLOSIVE CORNER
OF THE CONTINENT.

THEY TALKED FOR SEVERAL HOURS AND THEY EMERGED TO PROVIDE
CONTRASTING ASSESSMENTS OF WHAT WAS POSSIBLE IN THE WAY
OF COMING UP WITH NEGOTIATED SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEMS OF
RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA. NYERERE AT A NEWS CONFERENCE
SOUNDING DISCOURAGED, EVEN PESSIMISTIC, SAYING HE HAD NOT
RECEIVED ANY INFORMATION THAT MAKES HIM MORE HOPEFUL;
INDEED THE REVERSE. THEREBY ECHOING THE CONVICTIONS OF
BLACK AFRICAN LEADERS THAT THE FUTURE CAN NOW BE DECIDED
ONLY ON THE BATTLEFIELD. BUT NYERERE ADDED, PERHAPS HE
MIGHT RECEIVE MORE INFORMATION AS THE SECRETARY MAKES HIS
ROUNDS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

KISSINGER AT HIS OWN NEWS CONFERENCE DID NOT EXACTLY BEAT
THE DRUMS OF OPTIMISM, BUT HE DISCREETLY CHALLENGED THE
NYERERE ASSESSMENT, SAYING IT'S REALLY TOO EARLY TO JUDGE

HOW THINGS ARE GOING. ADDING THAT IF THERE WERE NOT SOME
POSSIBILITY OF BRIDGING THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE BLACKS
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PAGE 14 STATE 229271 TOSEC 270207

AND WHITES, HE WOULD HAVE NOT UNDERTAKEN THIS JOURNEY. THE

UNITED STATES, HE SAID, DOES NOT OPERATE ON THE ASSUMPTION
THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS WILL FAIL.

KISSINGER ARRIVED HERE LAST NIGHT TO FIND HIMSELF WELCOMED
BY AN AIRPORT CROWD CHANTING "KISSINGER GO HOME". THERE
WERE ALSO PLACARDS CREATING A KIND OF ANTI-AMERICAN
SKYLINE. THIS DEMONSTRATION, SMALL AS IT WAS, COULD HAVE
TAKEN PLACE ONLY WITH GOVERNMENT SANCTION. IT WAS AS
THOUGH TANZANIA WERE PUTTING KISSINGER ON NOTICE THAT HIS
RENDEZVOUS WITH BLACK AFRICA WOULD BE BRUTALLY FRANK.

KISSINGER'S SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY WILL NOW MOVE FROM TANZANIA
TO ZAMBIA. HE WILL THEN TAKE THE CASE OF BLACK AFRICA
TO WHITE-RULED SOUTH AFRICA TO SEE IF A NEGOTIATING
FRAMEWORK CAN BE ESTABLISHED TO BRING BLACK MAJORITY
RULE TO RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA. THE ODDS AGAINST HIS
SUCCEEDING ARE OVERWHELMING. BUT HE FEELS THAT THE EFFORT
MUST BE MADE TO AVOID ALL-OUT RACIAL WARFARE IN SOUTHERN
AFRICA.

8. ABC-TV EVENING NEWS;

REASONER: WHEN REPORTERS FLY ON A PLANE CARRYING SECRETARY
OF STATE KISSINGER SOMEWHERE, A 'SENIOR AMERICAN OFFICIAL'
FREQUENTLY CALLS THEM UP FOR A CHAT. IT HAPPENED IN
TANZANIA ON THE LATEST LEG OF HIS CURRENT MISSION. AS THE
OFFICIAL TOLD BARRIE DUNSMORE (FILM OF KISSINGER SITTING
ON THE PLANE) KISSINGER IS WELL AWARE OF THE PROBLEMS HE
FACES.

DUNSMORE: KISSINGER WAS NEITHER OVERLY OPTIMISTIC NOR
PESSIMISTIC AS HE FLEW INTO AFRICA. HE CONTINUED TO
EMPHASIZE THE COMPLEXITY OF THE PROBLEM OF SETTING UP A
DIPLOMATIC FRAMEWORK FOR THE PROBLEMS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA,
WHILE THE SENIOR OFFICIAL ON THE FLIGHT TOLD OF THE RUSSIANS
ACTIVELY WORKING AGAINST THE KISSINGER MISSION. ON HIS
ARRIVAL IN DAR ES SALAAM, TANZANIA, KISSINGER WAS GREETED
BY A COUPLE OF HUNDRED DEMONSTRATORS CHANTING, 'KISSINGER
GO HOME;' THE SAME DAY, NEWSPAPER EDITORIALS IN TANZANIA,
UNCLASSIFIED
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PAGE 15 STATE 229271 TOSEC 270207

AND A GOVERNMENT, WERE VERY CAUTIOUS ABOUT THE VISIT' -

ALL OF WHICH REFLECT THE AMBIVALENT ATTITUDE BLACK AFRICANS
APPEAR TO HAVE TOWRD THE AFRICAN SHUTTLE.

KISSINGER IS ACUTELY AWARE OF THIS ATTITUDE, AN IN HIS
ARRIVAL STATEMENT, TRIED TO SET ASIDE AFRICAN FEARS THAT
HIS MOTIVES ARE ANYTHING OTHER THAN WHAT HE SAYS THEY ARE,
- NAMELY, TO AVOID A RACIAL WAR.

KISSINGER: THE UNITED STATES WANTS NOTHING FOR ITSELF
EXCEPT ITS INTEREST IN PEACE AND IN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL
PROGRESS. THE CONFLICT THAT WE ARE TRYING TO END IS A
CONFLICT WHICH WILL AFFECT MOST OF ALL THE PEOPLES
OF AFRICA.

DUNSMORE: KISSINGER'S MEETINGS WITH TANZANIAN PRESIDENT
NYERERE ARE CONSIDERED CRITICAL TO THE MISSION. NEYERERE
IS THE MOST RESPECTED LEADER IN BLACK AFRICA, WITH GREAT
PRESTIGE AMONG THE VARIOUS LIBERATION GROUPS. BEFORE
KISSINGER CAN EXPECT TO MAKE ANY HEADWAY TOWARDS SETTING
UP THAT FRAMEWORK FOR NEGOTIATIONS ON RHODESIA AND SOUTH-
WEST AFRICA, HE WILL HAVE TO HAVE NYERERE'S FULL SUPPORT.

AFRICAN SKEPTICISM ABOUT THE KISSINGER MISSION IS BASED
ON ONE THING - FEARS THAT THE U.S. IS NOT CONCERNED ABOUT
MAJORITY RULE IN AFRICA, BUT ONLY ABOUT CHECK-MATING THE
SOVIET UNION. TO SUCCEED, KISSINGER IS GOING TO HAVE TO
CONVINCE BLACK LEADERS THAT BLACK ASPIRATIONS AND U.S.
CONCERNS ABOUT SOVIET EXPANSION ARE NOT INCOMPATIBLE. ROBINSON

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